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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to provide insight into the circumstances of California's Puerto Ricans who are only now surfacing as a distinct Latino bloc within the State's larger Hispanic population. Research methods consisted of a demographic analysis of Puerto Ricans in California and interviews with community representatives and public officials to assess the needs of Puerto Ricans and their participation in government programs. Findings indicate: (1) the Puerto Rican community is dispersed throughout California; (2) Puerto Rican organizations are structured along social club lines and are primarily engaged in activities supporting the culture and language; (3) Puerto Ricans have had limited success in soliciting assistance from public agencies; (4) governmental social action agencies and other groups concerned with minority problems have not been aware of Puerto Ricans in California; (5) discrimination that follows from being Hispanic as well as from mislabeling as Mexican aliens affects Puerto Ricans; (6) Puerto Ricans have difficulty obtaining adequate social services; (7) bilingual education programs often do not meet the cultural needs of Puerto Rican students; (8) there is a lack of awareness by Federal and State agencies as to the existence of a Puerto Rican population in California; and (9) the nature of daily concerns of the Puerto Rican community has not been addressed by public officials or governmental agencies. (Author/MK)

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Puerto Ricans In California

A STAFF REPORT OF THE WESTERN REGIONAL OFFICE, UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

January 1980

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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PREFACE

Social scientists have studied the Puerto Rican community in areas where this group has shown visibility because of high concentration. Yet, in areas where the Puerto Rican community is increasing, little is known. Governments on all levels have done little to assist Puerto Ricans in their quest for social justice.

In October 1976 the United States Commission on Civil Rights published a report entitled *Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future.* This report looked predominantly at the eastern sea coast and parts of the Midwest where large concentrations of Puerto Ricans make them more visible.

It is difficult to assess the numbers of Puerto Ricans who have left the eastern sea coast. Lack of accurate and adequate data hampers research on this Hispanic subgroup. This study was undertaken as an attempt to provide some insight into the circumstances of California's Puerto Ricans who are only now surfacing as a distinct Latino bloc within the State's larger Hispanic population.

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The Western Regional Office extends its appreciation to the Puerto Rican Task Force of California and is indebted to these individuals for their contributions to this project. The members of the Task Force were: Juan A. Medina, Antioch; Antonio Blanch, Connie Cintron, David Santiago, and Sonia M. Santiago, Los Angeles; Ronald D. Arroyo, Mountain View; Magda Y. Calderon-Powers and Isidoro Calderon, Oakland; and Jorge Pineiro and Max Velasquez, San Jose.

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1. Introduction

Puerto Ricans in California allege that they are an ethnic group growing in numbers in the State without official recognition of their problems and concerns. This lack of recognition, Puerto Rican spokespersons claim, hinders their ability to obtain support for community needs. Programs that might otherwise be tailored more closely to their needs are subsumed into less responsive organizational configurations and as a result Puerto Ricans in California continue to express feelings of being overlooked.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights has a longstanding concern for minority groups who have been ignored or forgotten by government.[1] In its reports the Commission has documented problems faced by these minorities and offered recommendations to assist in "eliminating discrimination and enhancing equal opportunity."[2]

The Commission's State Advisory Committees have also identified and reported upon problems minorities and women confront on a daily basis.[3] The California Advisory Committee, for example, has documented the concerns of Asian and Pacific Island Americans—groups who were perceived as "model minorities without civil rights problems."[4] In 1973 the California Advisory Committee collected data which demonstrated that Asian and Pacific Island Americans suffered "much of the economic and social exclusion experienced by other minority Americans."[5]

In December 1975 meetings with representatives of the Puerto Rican communities in the San Francisco-San Jose area of northern California, staff of the Commission's Western Regional Office heard complaints alleging that Puerto Ricans are a powerless minority group.[6] Participants at these meetings stressed the following concerns:

1. The lack of awareness by government agencies of the existence of a large population of Puerto Ricans in the Bay area.
2. The lack of an accurate enumeration of Puerto Ricans in the State.
3. An increase in the migration of Puerto Ricans to the State.
4. A lack of knowledge regarding the citizenship status of Puerto Ricans.

They alleged that government indifference hindered resolution of Puerto Rican concerns.

Efforts to Articulate Concerns

In an effort to address this indifference, the Western Region Puerto Rican Council (Concilio de Organizaciones Puertorriquenas del Oeste) was formed in 1970 for social action and advocacy. The council was formed in northern California and has affiliates in southern California and Hawaii.

[1] See U.S., Commission on Civil Rights: *Counting the Forgotten* (1974); *Cairo, Illinois: Racism at Floodtide* (1973); *A Time to Listen. . .A Time to Act* (1967). For a bibliography of Commission reports, see its *Catalog of Publications* (September 1979).

[2] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *The State of Civil Rights: 1977* (February 1978).

[3] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *The Unfinished Business: Twenty Years Later* (September 1977).

[4] In 1973 the California Advisory Committee held informal open meetings in San Francisco and Los Angeles to collect information on the concerns of American Chinese, Guamanian, Japanese, Korean, Pilipino, and Samoan communities. In 1975 the Advisory Committee released two reports: *Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples: A Case of Mistaken Identity* (February 1975); and *A Dream Unfulfilled: Korean and Pilipino Health Professionals in California* (May 1975).

[5] California Advisory Committee, *Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples*, p. 4.

[6] These meetings with approximately 28 Puerto Rican representatives were held Dec. 16, 1975, in San Jose and Dec. 17, 1975, in San Francisco. Puerto Rican Study File, Western Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

According to spokespersons, in 1976 the council set forth a plan to inform State and Federal authorities of the existence of Puerto Ricans in California. Jorge Pineiro, chairperson of the council, in a 1978 meeting with Commission staff said:

> Meetings were held with representatives of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Office of Education; Community Services Administration; and the U.S. Department of Labor. The response was always the same: officials were not aware of Puerto Ricans or they offered token assistance.

Mr. Pineiro also said that "in 1976 and 1977 proposals [for programs] were submitted to Federal agencies such as the U.S. Department of Labor; U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and the Council on Aging. All were rejected."

On March 2, 1976, the Western Region Puerto Rican Council wrote to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights requesting that a study be undertaken on Puerto Ricans in the western region[7] of the United States. As grounds for such a study, the Western Region Puerto Rican Council cited the large numbers of Puerto Ricans migrating from Puerto Rico to the mainland United States.[8]

In the letter, Mr. Pineiro noted:

> The Puerto Rican Council feels that the situation of Puerto Ricans [in California] is unique and should be given attention by the Commission. The areas that need to be researched are:
>
> 1. The impact of a migration of a new minority group.
>
> 2. The changing Spanish speaking picture as a new group advocating socieconomic development enters the geographic area of a larger group.
>
> 3. The changes needed in affirmative action to include a new Spanish speaking group.
>
> 4. The education of Puerto Ricans in a bilingual, bicultural mode that excludes their culture.
>
> 5. The need for an *awareness by government,* foundations and other institutions, of the problems and needs of Puerto Ricans in this area.

Mr. Pineiro also stressed the importance of developing an awareness within local and State governments of the problems and needs of Puerto Ricans in California.

In response to the council's request, staff of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Western Regional Office held a series of meetings with representatives of the Puerto Rican community in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego to gather preliminary data.[9] The basic concern of these community representatives was that officials were not aware of the growing numbers of Puerto Ricans in the State and that no programs existed to deal with their socieconomic problems in areas such as education and employment.

Isidoro Calderon, representing the Western Region Puerto Rican Council, on June 29, 1977, testified before the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights that "the population of Puerto Ricans in California alone has doubled with each census." Citing several examples of the failure of Federal programs to meet the needs of this growing ethnic group, Mr. Calderon said, "The big problem we have had with Federal agencies is a lack of response, a lack of communication and a lack of assistance." Puerto Ricans, spokespersons alleged, are invisible to these government representatives who could do much more in addressing the needs of this ethnic group.

Lack of Data

The Commission on Civil Rights' report *Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future* noted the absence of adequate data on Puerto Ricans, although they "had been studied to death." The report noted:

> One fact became glaringly evident; government agencies (municipal, State, and Federal) have failed to document adequately the socieconomic status of mainland Puerto Ricans. Federally-funded programs for specific geographic areas are frequently allocated according to population size; an admitted U.S. Bureau of the Census undercount of Puerto Ricans and other minority groups has deprived these communities of

[7] Jorge Pineiro, Chairman, Western Region Puerto Rican Council, letter to Stephen Horn, Vice Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Mar. 2, 1976.

[8] "Trying to Make It Without Miracles." *Time,* Feb. 16, 1976, p. 15.

[9] Meetings between representatives of the Puerto Rican community and staff of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Western Regional Office were held Dec. 13, 1977, in Los Angeles; Jan. 21, 1978, in San Francisco; and Mar. 5, 1978, in San Diego. In addition, a meeting was held Aug. 19, 1978, in Santa Cruz to allow the community representatives an opportunity to review and comment upon a draft of this study.

the urgently needed funding to which they are entitled.[10]

In a November 26, 1977, meeting with Western Regional Office staff, representatives of the Western Region Puerto Rican Council alleged that the Puerto Rican community in California suffers from a lack of quality education, as well as the presence of economic, social, and political disadvantages affecting other Hispanic groups in the United States.[11]

In a 1978 interview with Commission staff, Jorge Pineiro summarized the feelings of the Puerto Rican community in California:

> There are many reasons why Puerto Ricans are not considered a strong force in California, and one of the most important reasons is the poor count by the Bureau of the Census. Poor people and minorities are always undercounted; it seems almost intentional. Government has to begin counting people correctly and accurately.

Other Puerto Rican spokespersons echoed the need to document information on Puerto Ricans in California.

Purpose of Commission Staff Study

This report has two major purposes: to present a demographic sketch of Puerto Ricans in California and to describe, in general terms, areas in which Puerto Ricans encounter significant problems. The staff did not attempt to review the complete history of the Puerto Rican in California or to detail governmental perceptions of community concerns. The staff sought Puerto Rican spokerspersons' perceptions of their concerns, problems, and needs and relied principally upon interviews for the data.

Methods and Procedures

The study of Puerto Ricans in California was done in several phases. Phase I consisted of a demographic analysis of Puerto Ricans in California, including their economic, social, and educational status relative to the total population and other selected minority groups. Phase II involved interviews with community representatives and public officials to assess the needs of Puerto Ricans and their participation in government programs. Interviews with government officials were also designed to evaluate their awareness of Puerto Ricans concerns. In Phase III staff assessed its findings and conclusions.

Demographic Data Analysis

The Commission's Western Regional Office contracted with David Feldman and Associates to analyze census tract data and develop a demographic overview of the Puerto Ricans in California. The demographic data were categorized along the following dimensions: employment, educational achievement, and economic characteristics. A selective comparative analysis was then made between Puerto Ricans in California and the State's black, Spanish-surnamed,[12] and total white[13] population.

Although demographic information was surveyed on a statewide basis, the major focus regarding Puerto Rican concerns and needs as perceived by their community leaders was concentrated in the following cities and areas of the State: Los Angeles, Long Beach, Arvin, Lamont and Bakersfield in Kern County, eastern Contra Costa County, San Jose, Mountain View, Hayward, Union City, and Oakland. Evidence indicates that these areas have the highest concentrations of Puerto Ricans in California.[14]

Interviews

Two individuals identified by Puerto Rican representatives were employed to assist in this project. Sonia Santiago and Ronald Arroyo, aided by Puerto Rican spokespersons, selected key local leaders and officials at all governmental levels to be interviewed. The interviews were conducted by the two commu-

[10] *Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future* (1976), p. 1.

[11] Comments noted at a meeting of the Western Region Puerto Rican Council with U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Western Regional Office staff, held Nov. 26, 1977, in Union City, Calif. On file, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Western Regional Office, Puerto Rican Meeting and Interview File.

[12] The executive branch of the Federal Government requires all Federal agencies to use the standard classification "Hispanic," which includes "a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race." Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, memorandum to heads of executive departments, "Revision of Circular No. A-46, Exhibit F, 'Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting'," May 12, 1977. The reader should note that the regional office study focused on Puerto Rican issues in California where the majority of Hispanics are Mexican. Occasionally, those interviewed used regional terms such as Chicano or Latino to designate Hispanics other than Puerto Ricans. Such regionalisms are included in this report when appropriate. In addition, terms such as Spanish speaking, Spanish origin and Spanish surnamed are also used interchangeably throughout the report to designate all Hispanics.

[13] The term white is defined as "a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East." Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, memorandum to heads of executive departments, "Revision of Circular No. A-46, Exhibit F, 'Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting'," May 12, 1977.

[14] Community representatives noted at the San Francisco meeting of Jan. 21, 1978, the areas with significant concentrations of Puerto Rican population. Minutes of this meeting are in the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Western Regional Office, Puerto Rican Meeting and Interview File.

nity representatives and Western Regional Office staff.

The series of interviews was designed to obtain as accurate a profile as possible of the areas of concern as perceived by the Puerto Ricans interviewed. The interviews provided a commentary by knowledgeable people on the world of the Puerto Rican in California.

Difficulties Encountered

Most of the research that has been done with respect to Hispanics in California has focused on Mexican Americans; Puerto Ricans are typically subsumed within this group. As a result special problems faced by Puerto Ricans remain hidden.

Another major difficulty in assessing the concerns of the Puerto Rican in California is the dispersal of this group throughout the State. There are few places of Puerto Rican concentration in the State, and these tend to have little interaction with each other. This isolation, coupled with lack of accurate data on the Puerto Rican population in California, has hindered efforts to articulate concerns and obtain resolution of problems.

Certain methods of reporting data used by the U.S. Bureau of the Census have provided an obstacle to this study. For example, standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSAs) with less than 10,000 Puerto Ricans and cities with less than 5,000 Puerto Ricans were not reported in the Bureau's updated 1976 report, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States.*

A further hindrance to the enumeration of Puerto Ricans in California is the tendency of the decennial census to undercount Hispanics and other minorities. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1974 that there are "reasons to believe that there was a significant undercount of the Spanish speaking background population of the United States in the 1970 Census."[18]

[18] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *Counting the Forgotten* (1974), pp. 42–43.

2. Demographics

Background

Puerto Ricans have been migrating[1] to the United States for over 100 years, with the flow increasing after the Second World War. In the early years of the migration, most Puerto Ricans settled in New York City. The trend has changed in the past 25 years; in 1950, 85 percent of all migrants from Puerto Rico lived in New York City; in 1970, only some 60 percent resided there.[2]

The first documented evidence of Puerto Ricans in California is a *San Francisco Chronicle* article reporting on deserters from a New Orleans to San Francisco labor train who escaped in December 1900 in Pomona. This group made its way to Los Angeles.[3] Another group of approximately 40 individuals refused to board a Hawaii-bound ship following this same trip from New Orleans and were deposited at the San Francisco wharf. Some stayed in San Francisco, but most found employment, primarily as domestics, in Alameda and Santa Clara Counties.[4] This group had come from the same area in Puerto Rico and many were interrelated.[5] The first social organization of Puerto Ricans in California (the Club Social Puertoriqueno or Puerto Rican Social Club) emerged from this group in 1906 and is still in existence.[6]

The Puerto Rican population in California was augmented by others who had migrated to Arizona as farm laborers and followed the migrant labor stream into California. While following the crops, they became aware of the concentrations of Puerto Ricans, and some settled in the State.[7]

In 1940 other Puerto Ricans working at various Federal installations transferred to similar jobs at Federal facilities in California. In the 1950s and 1960s there were scattered individual migrations from New York and Puerto Rico. According to Puerto Rican spokespersons, in the late 1960s and in more recent years, an institutionalized migratory pattern became established from these two areas to California. The Bureau of the Census data show a 64 percent increase in the California Puerto Rican population between 1960 and 1970. A commercial airline, recognizing this trend, began in 1974 to provide nonstop service between San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Los Angeles, California.

[1] Under Federal law, any person born in Puerto Rico on or after April 11, 1899, if residing in Puerto Rico on January 13, 1941, or any person born in Puerto Rico on or after January 13, 1941, is a United States citizen. Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, sec. 302, 8 U.S.C. Citizens do not immigrate, since the Immigration and Naturalization Service defines an "immigrant" as an alien who has abandoned his foreign residence and plans to reside permanently in the United States.

[2] E.E. Sandis, "Characteristics of Puerto Rican Migrants to and from the United States," *The International Migration Review* (1970), p. 4.

[3] "Porto [*sic*] Ricans Prisoners in Railway Cars," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Dec. 7, 1900, p. 5. See also, Ronald D. Arroyo, "Puerto Ricans of Hawaii" (Dissertation, Union Graduate School, Cincinnati, Ohio, July 1976), pp. 36-38.

[4] "Porto [*sic*] Ricans are Prepared to Resist," *San Francisco Examiner*, Dec. 12, 1900, p. 1.; "Porto [*sic*] Ricans Desert Bosses," *San Francisco Call*, Dec. 13, 1900, p. 9; "Laborers Are Here," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Dec. 24, 1900, p. 1. See also, Arroyo, "Puerto Ricans of Hawaii," pp. 39-42.

[5] "Porto [*sic*] Ricans Enticed from Their Homes by Promises of Luxury and Wealth Kept Prisoners by Threats of Violence," *San Francisco Examiner*, Dec. 11, 1900, p. 1.

[6] Isidoro Calderon, interview with Western Regional Office staff, Union City, Calif., Nov. 26, 1977.

[7] Max Velasquez, interview with Western Regional Office staff, Union City, Calif., Nov. 26, 1977.

Population

For this study 1970 census data are one source of information on Puerto Ricans in California. The Bureau of the Census estimates that 1,753,000 Puerto Ricans resided in the mainland United States in 1970. They represented 15.8 percent of the total U.S. Spanish-origin population of 11,117,000, making them the second largest Hispanic group. The largest group was the Mexican Americans, who represented 59.3 percent; Cubans, the third largest group, accounted for 6.2 percent (see figure 1).

The 1970 census reported 46,955 Puerto Ricans in California. Los Angeles-Long Beach and San Francisco accounted for 32,002 Puerto Ricans out of the statewide total. Recognizing the endemic undercount of minorities and the possibility that some Puerto Ricans were counted as Mexican American or other Hispanic, this figure is universally regarded as underrepresentative of the actual population in 1970.

In June of 1977 the Council on Intergroup Relations, under the auspicies of the Lieutenant Governor of California, issued a report entitled *Third World Population in California.* [8] The council estimated that in 1977 the count for Puerto Ricans was 350,000.[9]

Stephen A. Fraser, research consultant, indicated to Commission staff on September 9, 1977, that estimates of the number of certain minorities are difficult to make:

> If the [Puerto Rican] community is taken to be all those persons with the fourth generation of Puerto Rican heritage, it is far larger than estimated by the 1970 census and may well exceed 200,000 persons.[10]

Estimates of California's total Puerto Rican population thus range from the 1970 Bureau of the Census figure of 46,955 to the 1977 Council on Intergroup Relations figure of 350,000. It is apparent that no reliable enumeration data on Puerto Ricans in California currently exist.

Profile

Despite a perceived substantial undercount[11] of racial and ethnic minorities in the 1970 census, data derived from that census constitute the only information availabe for many statistical parameters.[12] The age of the data also lowers their reliability. They are useful for comparative purposes, however, pending an update from the 1980 census.

California is ranked fourth as a mainland Puerto Rican population center, behind New York, New Jersey, and Illinois and slightly ahead of Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Between 1960 and 1970 the number of mainland Puerto Ricans increased over 140 percent nationally. In New York, Puerto Ricans showed only a 36 percent population gain, while in Pennsylvania the increase was 110 percent and in Connecticut, 150 percent (table 1).

Census data indicate that the California standard metropolitan statistical areas with the largest number of Puerto Ricans are Los Angeles-Long Beach (21,752) and San Francisco-Oakland (10,250). These two areas account for 70 percent of the Puerto Ricans in California.

The Puerto Ricans of California, as a group, are significantly older than their overall Puerto Rican population in the United States. The median age for all California Puerto Rican males was 23.4 years, compared to 19.4 for the total mainland population of Puerto Ricans. The median age of California Puerto Rican females was 26.0 years; for the mainland, 21.2 years. Puerto Rican median age, among both females and males, is also substantially higher than that of the total California Spanish-surnamed population.

A greater percentage of California Puerto Ricans were born on the United States mainland than is the case for Puerto Ricans in the mainland United States as a whole (see table 2).

Among mainland males of Puerto Rican birth, only 20.5 percent were married to a non-Puerto Rican spouse, compared to 48 percent for their California counterparts. For females of this group, only 15.9 percent of the continental United States population had a non-Puerto Rican spouse, in

[8] Office of the Lieutenant Governor, Council on Intergroup Relations, Intern Research Project, "Third World Population in California" (Sacramento, Calif.: June 10, 1977).

[9] According to the council, "data were gathered from various individuals and/or organizations representing minority groups. Because the data represents input from different groups, these figures lack the bias inherent in the Bureau of the Census data. However, while the Bureau of the Census tends to 'undercount,' the varying groups tend to 'overcount.' This consideration should be kept in mind in the process of reviewing this data." "Third World Population in California," p. 3.

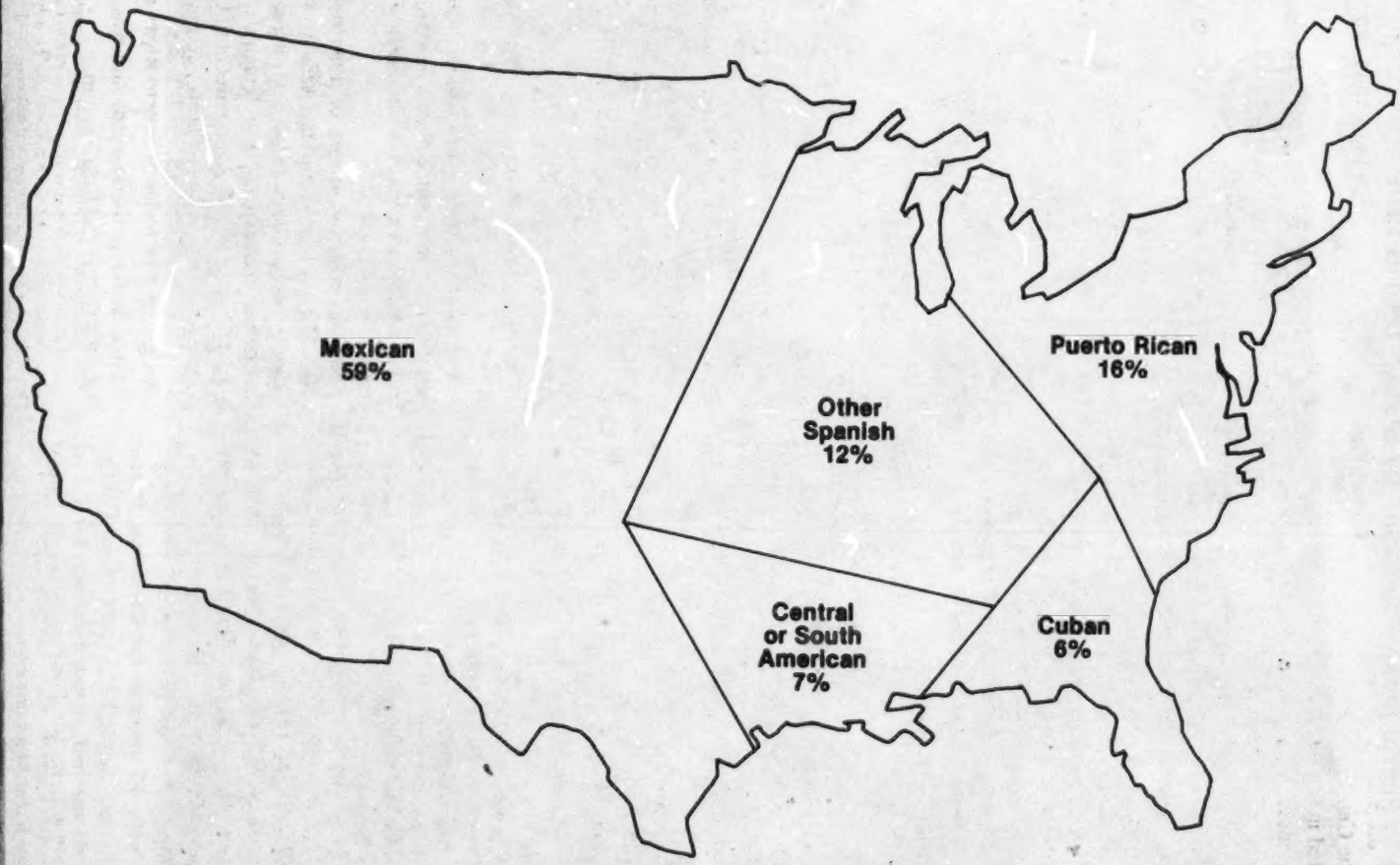
[10] Stephen A. Fraser, "Preliminary Statement" (unpublished project proposal; Sausalito, Calif.: Sept. 9, 1977).

[11] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *Counting the Forgotten* (1974).

[12] While there were more recent 1976 data on Puerto Ricans in the United States, the data were not broken down by States, only by regions (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1976).

FIGURE 1

Distribution of Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, March 1976



Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1976*, P–20, no. 310 (July 1977), cover I.

TABLE 1

Changes in Puerto Rican Population by State,* 1960 to 1970

States	Population 1970	Change 1960–70 No.	Change 1960–70 %
United States	1,379,000	486,530	55
New York	872,500	229,900	36
New Jersey	135,700	80,300	145
Illinois	87,500	51,400	143
Pennsylvania	44,500	23,300	110
Connecticut	38,100	22,900	150
Massachusetts	24,400	19,183	368
California	46,100	18,000	64
Florida	29,000	9,500	48
Ohio	20,900	7,000	50
Texas	8,100	2,100	35
Indiana	9,400	2,200	30

*States where persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage in 1970 comprised 1 percent or more of total population in 1970.

Source: U.S., Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "A Socioeconomic Profile of Puerto Rican New Yorkers," Regional Report 46 (New York, N.Y.: July 1975), p. 27.

contrast with 44.6 percent for California females born in Puerto Rico.

Among Puerto Ricans born on the mainland, the rate of intermarriage was substantially greater, with the differences between the mainland population and the California population maintaining a similar pattern. Approximately 48 percent of the continental United States Puerto Rican males and 45 percent of the females were married to non-Puerto Ricans. Three-fourths of the California males had married outside their ethnic group, as had 7 out of 10 of the females.

A significant difference in educational achievement exists between the mainland Puerto Rican population born in Puerto Rico and the California Puerto Rican population. Only 20.5 percent of the former group, compared to 35.7 percent of the latter, had completed a high school education. College matriculation followed a similar pattern, with only 1.9 percent of the mainland Puerto Ricans having completed 4 or more years of college, contrasted with 4.7 percent for California Puerto Ricans. Moreover, while 8.6 percent of the California Puerto Ricans had attended college for 1 to 3 years, only 3.3 percent of the continental United States Puerto Ricans had done so.

These differences, as can be seen from the data in table 3, were reflected in the median school years completed. For the mainland population, it was 8.4 years; for the California population, 9.9 years.

Among the United States-born Puerto Rican population, 5.6 percent had completed 4 years of college; for the California group, 5.9 percent. Similarly, the median school years completed for the mainland Puerto Ricans was 11.5 years and for California Puerto Ricans, 12 years. Of the Californians, 50.5 percent had completed high school, compared to 45.6 percent for the United States population.

The unemployment rate was higher for California Puerto Ricans. Among individuals of Puerto Rican birth, California males had an 8.1 percent unemployment rate compared with a 6 percent unemployment rate for the mainland Puerto Rican males. As table 4 shows, a similar pattern was found among females of this group. For males of Puerto Rican parentage, the United States unemployment rate was 7.1 percent; it was 9.8 for the California group.

TABLE 2

Distribution of Puerto Ricans in the United States and California by Birth and Parentage, 1970

Category	United States		California	
	%	No.	%	No.
Puerto Rican birth	58.2	810,087	53.9	23,670
Puerto Rican parentage	41.8	581,376	46.1	23,285
Total	100.0	1,391,463	100.0	46,955

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)–1E (June 1973), pp. 39–41.

TABLE 3

Years of School Completed by Puerto Ricans 25 Years and Older in the United States and California by Puerto Rican Birth or Parentage, 1970

Category	U.S.	California
Puerto Rican birth		
No school years completed	5.8%	4.3%
Elementary: 1 to 4 years	15.8	12.5
5 to 7 years	22.5	13.8
8 years	13.6	12.9
High school: 1 to 3 years	21.7	20.9
4 years	15.4	22.3
College: 1 to 3 years	3.3	8.6
4 years or more	1.9	4.7
Median school years completed	8.4	9.9
Percent high school graduates	20.5	35.7
Puerto Rican parentage		
No school years completed	5.0	1.6
Elementary: 1 to 4 years	5.6	5.2
5 to 7 years	9.5	7.8
8 years	8.5	9.7
High school: 1 to 3 years	25.7	25.3
4 years	32.1	32.5
College: 1 to 3 years	8.0	12.0
4 years or more	5.6	5.9
Median school years completed	11.5	12.0
Percent high school graduates	45.6	50.5

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)–1E (June 1973), pp. 40–41.

Comparison of Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Spanish Surnamed, and Anglos

This section presents a demographic and socio-economic comparison of California's Puerto Ricans, blacks, Mexican Americans and other Spanish surnamed, and Anglos. In 1970 Puerto Ricans were 0.25 percent of the total California population and 2.2 percent of the Spanish-surnamed population (see table 5).

Education

Puerto Ricans in California had a median level of academic achievement of 10.6 years, compared to 9.7 years for the total California Spanish-surnamed population, 11.9 years for California blacks, and 12.4 years for Anglos. Somewhat more than twice as many white males, 12.8 percent, had completed 4 years or more of college, compared to 5.6 percent for Puerto Rican males. The ratio of college completion among the white females, 7.6 percent, was also greater than that of Puerto Rican females, 4.5 percent.

Among Spanish-surnamed males, 9.5 percent had completed 1 to 3 years of college and 4.8 percent, 4 or more years of college.

The greatest differences, however, were found between Puerto Rican females and Spanish-surnamed females. Among the former group, 9.1 percent had completed 1 to 3 years of college, compared with 6.1 percent for the total Spanish-surnamed population. The differences were even greater regarding completion of 4 or more years of college. Four and a half percent of the Puerto Rican females had achieved this educational level in contrast to 2.8 percent of their Spanish-surnamed counterparts. Among blacks, 14.2 percent had completed 1 to 3 years of college and 5.8 percent had completed 4 or more years (see table 6).

Occupation

Educational achievement differences were reflected in the pattern of occupational distribution for the groups. Twice the proportion of males (17.8 percent) in the total white male population were in a professionally related occupation as were Puerto Rican males (see table 7). A similar, but slightly smaller, difference occurred between white and Puerto Rican females.

Slightly more than 12 percent of the total white male population was classified as managers and administrators, compared to 4.7 percent of the Puerto Rican males. Similarly, while 4.8 percent of the total white female population were managers and administrators, only 1.9 percent of the Puerto Rican females held such jobs.

Among Puerto Rican males, 8.5 percent were in the professional and related category, compared to 6.6 percent for Spanish-surnamed males. A similar pattern was found between the females where 9.2 percent of the Puerto Ricans had professional and related occupations, in contrast to 7.3 percent for the Spanish-surnamed population.

Both blacks and Puerto Ricans placed a somewhat similar percentage of their male population in the professional and related occupational category. Puerto Ricans were less represented than blacks among service workers and laborers, and were more heavily represented than blacks as craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers and operatives.

Females had a different pattern of occupational diversity. Black women were more heavily represented in the professional and related categories than Puerto Rican women and significantly less represented in the operative category. Contrastingly, a significantly larger percentage of black women were service workers and private household workers than Puerto Rican women.

Income

Inconsequential differences were found between the median income of male Puerto Ricans and the total male Spanish-surnamed population. For the former, the median income in 1969 was $5,952 and for the latter, $5,900. Median income differences between females, however, were significant. Among Puerto Rican females, the median income was $3,115; for the Spanish-surnamed female population, it was $2,340.

The difference in male median income between Puerto Ricans and blacks was greater than that between Puerto Ricans and the total Spanish-surnamed population. The black male median income in 1969 was $6,626 compared to $5,900 for the total male Spanish-surnamed population and $5,952 for Puerto Rican males. Puerto Rican females had a median income of $3,115 in 1969, compared to $3,928 for black females. The median income for all Spanish-surnamed females was $2,340.

Community Assessment

Puerto Rican community members stressed that inaccurate census statistics provide the background

TABLE 4

Economic Characteristics of Puerto Ricans 16 Years and Older in the United States and California by Sex and Puerto Rican Birth or Parentage, 1970

Category	United States	California
Puerto Rican birth		
Males in civilian labor force		
Employed	94.0%	91.9%
Unemployed	6.0	8.1
Median income, 1969	$5,129	$5,762
Mean income, 1969	$5,227	$6,106
Female		
Employed	91.4%	89.3%
Unemployed	8.6	10.7
Median income, 1969	$2,946	$3,028
Mean income, 1969	$3,068	$3,373
Class of worker		
Private wage and salary workers	86.5%	82.7%
Government workers	0.6	13.5
Self-employed workers	2.6	3.6
Unpaid family workers	0.3	0.2
Puerto Rican parentage		
Male		
Employed	92.3%	89.2%
Unemployed	7.7	9.8
Median income, 1969	$4,855	$6,469
Mean income, 1969	$5,365	$6,627
Female		
Employed	92.9%	92.9%
Unemployed	7.1	7.1
Median income, 1969	$2,884	$3,352
Mean income, 1969	$3,242	$3,930
Class of worker		
Private wage and salary workers	81.2%	78.2%
Government workers	16.2	19.1
Self-employed workers	2.4	2.4
Unpaid family workers	0.2	0.2

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)–1E (June 1973), pp. 54–56.

TABLE 5

California Population Distribution by Ethnic Group, 1970

Ethnic group	Population percentage	Population number
Spanish surname	10.8	2,145,153
Black	7.0	1,400,143
Japanese	1.1	213,280
Chinese	0.9	170,131
Pilipino	0.7	138,859
Indian	0.5	91,018
Anglo/white	69.0	17,761,032
Total population	100.0	19,953,134
Puerto Rican birth or parentage by percent of total	0.25	46,955

Source: California Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Fair Employment Practices Commission, *Californians of Spanish Surname* (June 1976), p. 22.

TABLE 6

School Level Completed by Persons 25 Years and Older of Puerto Rican Birth or Parentage, Spanish Surnames, Black, and Other White, California, 1970 (percentages)

School level completed	Puerto Rican birth or parentage		Total Spanish surname		Black	Other white persons	
	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female
Elementary							
Less than 5 years	13.6	14.6	18.2	18.0	5.2	5.9	4.6
5 to 7 years	13.1	11.4	16.6	17.7	11.4	9.2	7.9
8 years	11.2	12.9	10.0	10.7	8.2	14.0	13.6
High school							
1 to 3 years	24.4	19.5	19.6	20.7	24.4	19.7	20.5
4 years	21.8	28.0	21.3	24.0	29.4	24.7	32.4
College							
1 to 3 years	10.3	9.1	9.5	6.1	14.2	13.7	13.4
4 or more years	5.6	4.5	4.8	2.8	5.8	12.8	7.6
Median school years completed of combined males and females	10.6		9.7		11.9	12.4	

Source: California Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Fair Employment Practices Commission, *Californians of Spanish Surname* (June 1976), p. 32–33; U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)–1E (June 1973), pp 98–108; California Department of Industrial Relations, Fair Employment Practices Commission, *Black Californians* (June 1974), p. 24: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *General Population Characteristics: California*, PC(1)–B6 (October 1971).

TABLE 7

Occupation by Sex of the California Puerto Rican, Total Other White, Spanish-Surname, and Black Populations 16 Years and Older, 1970

Major occupation groups	Puerto Rican birth or parentage	Other white population	Total Spanish surname	Black
Male employed	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	8.5	17.8	6.6	8.8
Managers and administrators, except farm	4.7	12.3	4.9	3.9
Sales workers	3.0	8.2	3.7	3.3
Clerical and kindred workers	9.5	7.7	6.7	10.8
Craft workers, craft supervisors, and kindred workers	20.2	20.5	20.4	16.6
Operatives, including transport	29.0	15.9	27.0	24.1
Laborers, except farm	8.3	6.0	11.0	12.9
Farmers and farm managers	0.2	0.9	0.8	0.2
Farm laborers and farm supervisors	3.8	2.2	8.5	1.2
Service workers, except private household	12.7	8.4	10.3	17.9
Private household workers	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
Female employed			100.0	
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	9.2	16.7	7.3	12.9
Managers and administrators, except farm	1.9	4.8	2.2	2.0
Sales workers	4.0	8.5	6.0	3.6
Clerical and kindred workers	27.6	39.2	23.6	31.6
Craft workers, craft supervisors, and kindred workers	3.4	1.7	2.1	1.4
Operatives, including transport	34.1	10.4	29.6	13.6
Laborers, except farm	0.5	0.7	1.1	1.0
Farmers and farm managers	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Farm laborers and farm supervisors	0.9	0.7	2.8	0.3
Service workers, except private household	15.7	14.8	20.7	28.0
Private household workers	2.7	2.4	4.6	10.5

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *General Population Characteristics: California*, PC(1)–B6 (October 1971); *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)–1E (June 1973), pp. 69–71; California Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Fair Employment Practices Commission, *Californians of Spanish Surname* (June 1976), pp. 44–45; California Department of Industrial Relations, Fair Employment Practices Commission, *Black Californians* (June 1974), pp. 27–28.

for the myth that Puerto Ricans in California are, comparatively speaking, in a very good situation. The reality, they allege, is that the nature of the problems of the Puerto Ricans in California is different and unique, but nonetheless traumatic.

The perceptions of these community members are discussed in the following chapter.

3. Community Perceptions

An attempt is made in this chapter to categorize and summarize information gleaned through individual and group interviews with 120 representatives of the California Puerto Rican community.[1]

These interviews highlighted the major concerns of the Puerto Rican community. The topics most discussed were absence of demographic information, alienation, education, employment, and need for identity.

Absence of Demographic Information

Puerto Ricans feel strongly that they are treated as a nonexistent group by most Californians. This complaint is usually attributed to the lack of adequate demographic information dealing with them as a population group.

Elba Montes, member of the Puerto Rican Organization for Women, a San Francisco-based action group, expressed her feelings when asked if she thought the census accurately reflected the number of Puerto Ricans in California:

> No. There's no way that it can—enumerators don't speak the language; people are very suspect of government forms, often throw them away. I don't believe the Census Bureau is really interested in counting all minorities. The last test they did in Oakland, several minorities pointed out deficiencies in the questim. Yvette del Prado, assistant superintendent of schools in San Francisco, noted:
>
> In the San Francisco schools we have a cross section of Latin students. We have Chicanos, Central Americans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Spanish. It would be impossible to have a program for Puerto Ricans or any other group. We have a real mixture of Spanish-speaking people.

Jose Oyola, Puerto Rican student in Los Angeles, commented:

> In the school system, you're categorized as either black or Mexican, but we're [Puerto Ricans] as a cultural group. Our children are forced to be labeled as other than Puerto Rican. We don't have any way of finding out where the opportunities are. Our culture is lost. The whites, blacks, and other ethnic groups have specific organizations that look out for their own youth; we don't have any.

Harvey Miller, consultant on bilingual education, California State Department of Education, said: "We don't have bilingual programs geared to Puerto Ricans as a group. We have bilingual education programs for Spanish-speaking children."

The concern that education programs be targeted more directly toward Puerto Rican students was voiced by Angel Echevarria, a Los Angeles parent:

> The Puerto Rican kid suffers from culture shock. There are no Puerto Rican models for him to follow. There are no programs designed for us either for primary and/or higher education. You take a bicultural book and it portrays only Mexican symbols, not the reality of the multicultural population of the students.

[1] The majority of community interviews, unless otherwise noted, were conducted by Commission staff from March through May 1978. On file, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Western Regional Office, Puerto Rican Interview File.

Miller continued:

> The bilingual bill [A.B. 1329] states that if there are 10 or more children per grade level in a school [who need bilingual instruction], you can have a bilingual program. I guess if you had 10 Puerto Rican children you could request a bilingual program for Puerto Rican children.

Another community perspective was provided by Luis Rivera, a former newscaster for a major television network in Los Angeles:

> There's no ethnicity for a Puerto Rican child here. What we need to do is sue the entire school system as we did in New York, in order for them to acknowledge our existence. The Puerto Rican kid here is either super-Anglocized or super-Mexicanized. I've seen too many young Puerto Ricans who are totally ignorant about their history or culture.

Officials claim there are programs that provide this history and culture. Peter Sanchez, supervisor, Office of School Community Relations, told Commission staff:

> The Office of Urban Affairs attempts to work with all groups. We work with Puerto Ricans because we recognize that they have special needs. The programs are different. We provide services based on people's needs.

Miller added: "The Daly City school system has a number of Puerto Rican students, and they use cultural background that applies to Puerto Rico."

The Puerto Ricans interviewed stated that these programs are necessary at more schools and districts.

Employment

Persons interviewed noted that unemployment is the major and most pressing problem faced by all minority groups. Hilda Nieves, Oakland community worker, said, "[There is] lots of unemployment among Puerto Ricans. This is the largest problem I hear every day. We need jobs and we can't get them."

Puerto Rican spokespersons believe that proportionately more Puerto Ricans are unemployed than members of other minority groups. Their concern was that, given the relationship between marketable skills and employment opportunities, no specific, or effective, training programs for Puerto Ricans exist. They see that present training programs for minorities are controlled by other minority groups who give preference to their own community needs.

John Palomino, Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, San Francisco, said, "We don't make distinctions in [Health, Education, and Welfare] programs. We deal with language groups."

In Pomona, Jaime Jimenez, a 15-year Puerto Rican resident, felt that the community was closed out from agencies:

> We're left out of all socioeconomic programs; also we're not being serviced by any of the Hispanic organizations that are supposed to serve Puerto Ricans because we're not visible. In city hall, it's the same; we're not appointed to any important posts [politically]. If there's an opening for a Latin, they give it to the Mexican because they're more in numbers. The governmental agencies don't know what to do about us; that includes welfare, migration, unemployment, any agency. Employment mobility is hard for Puerto Ricans. We don't fill out any quotas for employers.

Officials do not believe this will change. Mary Venerable, personnel management analyst, U.S. Office of Personnel Management, said:

> Puerto Ricans are not separated out from the category of Hispanic. There are no statistics as such. Our determinations are made on [total] Hispanic employment. I don't think the census in 1980 is going to change the way we operate. We will still have the general Hispanic category.

Simply obtaining employment has been a concern. In Los Angeles, Aurea Hernandez, a Puerto Rican woman with a Ph.D. degree, related some of her difficulties in obtaining employment:

> Discrimination against Puerto Ricans occurs at all socioeconomic levels. Look, I have a Ph.D.; however, in seeking employment [at local university counseling centers]. . .I've been rejected four times. They even told me that they didn't want a Puerto Rican because we don't get along with Mexicans. That's a prejudice coming not from another Latino, but from the Anglos. That's their perception of our reality.

Conchita Bartholomei, the president of a civic club in San Jose, told of her nephew who came to California and completed his studies for a master's degree in marketing. Although he was fully bilin-

gual, he encountered great difficulty in obtaining a position. This person felt that the reason all the doors were closed was because his last name was Lopez.

There are complaints of a lack of job security. Arcenia Nieves, Puerto Rican resident of Los Angeles, expressed her exasperation:

> I've had about six or seven jobs since I came here. What happens is that they hire you temporarily and get rid of you as soon as possible because you don't belong to the right race. I'd even say that bosses here prefer Mexicans [particularly illegals] because they know that unions don't represent them, so they can be exploited easier. At least Puerto Ricans have citizenship and can get into the unions. I belong to one since 1961. When you want to prove that you've been discriminated against, they just say that the industry is low these days. In New York, Puerto Ricans and blacks are united in the factory, so that when one of us had a problem, the others stood up. Here, the Puerto Rican is by himself and it's tough.

Joanne Lewis, chief of the division of Fair Employment Practices, California State Department of Industrial Relations, told Commission staff, "We handle complaints based on race, sex, national origin, handicapped, or a variety of categories. Puerto Ricans could file a complaint under many things."

Minorities other than Puerto Ricans who have suffered the same kind of discrimination seem to lack understanding about what is happening to the Puerto Rican, interviewees added. The comment made by Ellie Gomez, a young Puerto Rican woman in Los Angeles, indicates this lack of understanding:

> We catch it three ways: we catch it from the Anglos, we catch it from the blacks, and we catch it from the Mexicans. We're sort of right in the middle. For a lot of Puerto Ricans, depending on their color, they fit in where it is the safest. The incidents I have been aware of is in applying for jobs with community agencies. I was asked if I was Chicano. The answer was no. Then you notice a change in the whole process.

Such reports were not uncommon. According to Magda Y. Calderon-Powers, community activist in the Bay area, local governments in the major cities of California have also shown no signs of responsiveness to the problems of Puerto Ricans. She added: "Each local agency justifies its inattention to the Puerto Rican community by stating that there is no such community, and where they have responded, programs have been short-lived."

Joanne Lewis noted, "[The Fair Employment Practices Commission procedure] does not close the door to a group of Puerto Ricans coming in and saying 'we are discriminated against because we are Puerto Rican'." This implies knowledge of the community's existence, spokespersons alleged.

Interviews indicate, however, that public officials are not aware of a Puerto Rican community in California. David Rivera, a resident of the San Diego area, said:

> Puerto Ricans are not part of any agency assistance program. Most programs have no Puerto Ricans and, in those that do, such staff are not utilized in positions which assist the Puerto Rican community.

Jack McGrory, equal opportunity supervisor, City of San Diego, said:

> We handle affirmative action under the [category] Hispanic or Spanish surname. The Census Bureau puts out a list of 10,000 Spanish surnames and we use this list. Puerto Ricans have never been classified in a special group. I have no idea of the numbers who reside in the City of San Diego.

Most agencies have no racial or ethnic coding for Puerto Ricans and do not report, nor are required to report, Puerto Rican staff or trainees.[a] Doris Lassere, compliance manager, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, told Commission Staff: "In our [EEOC] investigations and forms we do not break out subcategories under Hispanic. We take each case on its own merit. All reports we get from employers have only the Hispanic category."

Because agencies are not required to report Puerto Ricans as a group, community spokespersons allege, Puerto Ricans are not hired as part of an affirmative action program unless they are categorized in a group that is acceptable to that particular plan. The consequence is that Puerto Ricans in California have no leverage in seeking equal employment opportunities. Mary Venerable, personnel management analyst, added:

[a] Telephone interview with State and local officials were conducted by Western Regional Office staff in August 1979. Unless otherwise noted, all information from public officials emanated from these interviews.

> When we [Office of Personnel Management] make determinations, it is based on the work force available in that community. This work force is then compared to the number of Hispanics in that particular area. We would expect the work force to reflect the group.

Aurora Calderon, northern California Puerto Rican active with La Orden Fraternal, an Oakland-based fraternal organization, made the following observations in an interview:

> Blacks have better and more opportunities than Puerto Ricans. In that respect they are treated much better. . . . You go to the Spanish Speaking Unity Council [in Oakland], when they have job openings, they always say, "We need a Chicano."

Dagberto Moreno, recent arrival to the Bay area from Puerto Rico, saw the problem this way:

> [Agencies] are not too helpful. . .with Latinos there is much competition. There are opportunities, but you are not notified. . .[Puerto Ricans have] various needs—primarily they need an organization that represents them.

Need for Identity as Puerto Ricans

There was almost total agreement among persons interviewed that, as far as public and private officials are concerned, Puerto Ricans as a group in California do not exist. The interviewees felt that they were treated as invisible when they confronted many public officials and program managers regarding the needs of the Puerto Rican community. The most frequent reply was: "Are there Puerto Ricans in California?" Individuals interviewed perceived that officials and managers define the Puerto Rican issue as irrelevant in California and as restricted to the eastern part of the United States, particularly New York City. According to community representatives, the general public and officials lump Puerto Ricans with and as part of the general Hispanic population in California. This approach precludes the public agencies from responding to the needs of their specific ethnic group. Perhaps even more frustrating to community representatives is the assumption by officials and the public that Puerto Rican concerns are being met by broad-based programs for Hispanics.

Harry Nieves, member of the Los Angeles Puerto Rican community, stated:

> We suffer tremendously because we're not identified as an ethnic group. There is loneliness because of a lack of community. First, we need to identify the community, where we are located, how many, and then develop a multiservice center. We're spread out so far that when we try to get together and work towards a goal it's almost impossible. We're assimilated into other Hispanic organizations and it does nothing for us.

Nevertheless, and despite the problems outlined, there is the spirit voiced by Jack Hernandez, the head of a Puerto Rican Community Center in northern California, "I feel I am the new generation of Puerto Ricans, born American by right, born Puerto Rican by geography, never denying either one."

According to community representatives, Puerto Ricans are not willing to give up their identity; however, it is difficult for them to maintain their identity, they allege, when they are treated as a nonexistent group.

4. Summary

The Puerto Rican community is dispersed throught California. The major concentrations of Puerto Ricans are in the Los Angeles-Long Beach and San Francisco-Oakland areas, but even there Puerto Ricans are not concentrated in any one neighborhood or area. Thus, Puerto Ricans have no identifiable neighborhood or business district in San Francisco or Los Angeles.

Puerto Rican organizations are structures along social club lines and are primarily engaged in activities that support the culture and language, including observation of festive occasions traditional in Puerto Rican culture. Most of the organizations are not oriented toward solving community problems.

Puerto Ricans have had limited success in soliciting assistance from public agencies. For the most part, they have been ignored by public officials who are in a position to give legitimacy to their concerns because Puerto Rican problems, with rare exception, are lumped under the Hispanic category. No government agency or Puerto Rican group to date in California has developed a formal plan to deal with Puerto Ricans as a distinct cultural group.

According to community representatives, social action governmental agencies and other groups concerned with minority problems have not been aware of Puerto Ricans in California. The Puerto Rican problem is defined primarily as an eastern problem.

Yet, Puerto Ricans share some problems with other Hispanics in California. According to community representatives, Puerto Ricans are often labeled as Mexican aliens; thus, the discrimination that follows Mexican aliens also is shared by the Puerto Rican. Also, discrimination that follows from being Hispanic affects Puerto Ricans.

Puerto Rican leaders noted difficulty in obtaining adequate social services and felt that this problem is compounded by non-Puerto Rican social agencies who have little understanding of their special needs. Puerto Rican problems are thought to be obscured when they are placed in the problem context of the larger Hispanic community.

A lack of specific programming in education is of particular concern. Community representatives allege that although bilingual programs exist in California's school districts these often do not meet the cultural needs of Puerto Rican students. Bicultural programs are not established to deal with their cultural experiences. How different these programs must be for Puerto Ricans has not been determined.

There is a lack of awareness by Federal and State agencies as to the existence of a Puerto Rican population in California. This lack of awareness creates undue hardship on community attempts for programmatic assistance.

The Puerto Rican community alleges that the nature of its daily concerns has not been addressed by public officials and governmental agencies. Spokespersons for the Puerto Rican community are eager to promote recognition of the cultural differences that distinguish them from other Hispanics. In the hope of winning such recognition, they are equally eager to involve Federal and State agencies in the development of programs designed to alleviate the unique problems faced by Puerto Ricans in California.

* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1980 634-255/580